



Political Parties: Where Do They Stand on the Issues?

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POLITICAL PARTIES: WHERE DO

Party	Class Base and Regions of Support	Center-Province Relations
1. Awami League Leader: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	East Pakistan's emerging bourgeoisie, petty businessmen, and middle class educated persons. Popular support among peasants and workers also.	Regional autonomy for East Pakistan is the major plank of the party, formulated in its 6-point program that would leave only defence and foreign policy as federal subjects. AL has recently shown willingness to compromise on the question of separate currency.
2. Council Muslim League Leader: Mumtaz Daultana?	Upper landlord and industrial classes of Punjab. Some upper class support from Sind as well.	Favors a strong center that would not permit as much autonomy to East Pakistan as it wants. Leadership of the party had staunchly opposed the dissolution of one unit.
3. Quid-e-Azam Muslim League Leader: Qayum Khan	Upper classes of N.W.F.P. and Punjab. Some feudal support in Sind also.	Opposed to regional autonomy and greater powers for the provinces.
4. National Awami Party Leaders: Wali Khan, Prof. Muzaffer Ahmed	Tribal chiefs of N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan and middle class educated groups in East Pakistan; some lower middle class following in Karachi city.	The Most ardent and consistent champion of restoration of provinces in West Pakistan. Supports AL's six points and adds to them five of its own. Some Punjab members lukewarm to the idea of greater powers for the provinces.
5. Sind United Front Leader: G. M. Syed	Following cuts across all social strata in Sind, but resurging landlord class and disgruntled intelligentsia of Sind are the mainstay of Front's strength.	Separate identity for Sind being Front's motto, it supports similar movements elsewhere in the country.
6. Pakistan Democratic Party Leaders: Nurul Amin, Nasrullah Khan	A confederacy of personalities of five parties who either failed to revive their parties or fell out of favor with their parties. No mass support anywhere.	No clearcut program; East Pakistani members feel compelled to pay some lip service to autonomy while West Pakistan counterparts condemn regional movements.
7. Pakistan People's Party Leader: Z. A. Bhutto	Nationalist segment of industrialists, leftist middle class youth, workers, and peasants throughout West Pakistan; a number of Sindhi landlords also support PPP.	After vacillating on one unit issue for a while, it supported the restoration of provinces. Has reservations about AL's six points but supports the right of people of the provinces to determine the nature of relationship with the center.
8. National Awami Party Leader: Maulana Bhashani (at present challenged by Toha-Abdul Huq group from within).	Major support being in East Pakistan's peasantry, NAP also enjoys considerable following among East Pakistan's intelligentsia and workers and among some peasants and students in Punjab and workers and students in Karachi.	Has consistently supported dissolution of one unit and regional autonomy for East Pakistan without making these issues the core of its program. It does not believe that solution of regional problems will lead to prosperity for the masses.
9. Jamat-e-Islami Leader: Maulana Maududi	Saudagar class and sections of lower middle class in Karachi city and urban areas of Punjab. Some landlord and capitalist support because of its virulent anti-socialist rhetoric and activities.	Election campaign tactics apart, Jamat has always considered autonomy movement and anti-one unit struggle blasphemous.

Note: Pakistan Muslim League (A.K.M.F.Q. Chowdhury), National Progressive League (Ataur Rahman Khan) and Justice Party (Manzar Bashir) appear more like personality problems of some individual leaders and do not represent any significant force in national politics.

THEY STAND ON THE ISSUES?

Economy

Supports private capitalism, although some intellectuals in the party consider nationalization of some industry and financial institutions necessary for curbing West Pakistani control and achieving regional autonomy for East Pakistan.

Despite its slogans about nationalization – which is not antithetical to capitalism – CML is essentially a party of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords and, therefore, the best guardian of class system.

Private ownership will be safe in the hands of this party notwithstanding its rhetoric about welfare.

Aims to achieve “socialism” by nationalizing heavy industry, banks, insurance, and foreign trade; private property would exist nevertheless.

Unclear; but the landlord base of the Front would prevent it from supporting any radical reforms in feudal Sind.

No antipathy towards private ownership of means of production.

With “socialism” as its objective, PPP intends to do the trick by nationalizing banks, insurance, and basic industry, but in the same breathe promises a “conducive” atmosphere to private ownership in industry. It has also failed to take a clear stand on the land question.

Like other left parties NAP has failed to define socialism and present a coherent program, but it has been consistent and unequivocal about its demands for radical social change.

Despite its recent call for nationalization and lower ceiling on land, the past record and class affiliation of JI, together with its hysteric opposition to socialism, would make it side with propertied classes.

Foreign Policy

During its brief rule at the center, AL pursued a pro-West policy and supported Suez invasion. Current realities might force it to continue Bhuttoist partial non-alignment. Favors withdrawal from SEATO and CENTO.

Unclear; but present policy with slightly more pro-Western posture may be what CML would represent.

Same as above; also some vague pronouncements about confederation with neighboring Muslim countries.

Has consistently opposed Pakistan's subservience to the West and advocated a non-aligned policy and greater collaboration with Afro-Asian nations. It is alleged to follow pro-Moscow line in international affairs.

G. M. Syed, as a member of NAP, opposed pro-American alliances in the past, but foreign policy seems to be out of Front's purview.

PPP's promise of an independent foreign policy with strong ties with the third world nations is backed up by its leader's record as an effective Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Its anti-Indian stance seems more serious than similar slogans of other parties.

A consistent champion of non-alignment, NAP lost its unique position when Ayub Government adopted part of its program as a result of the U.S. policy on Sino-Indian and Indo-Pakistan disputes. NAP still remains the most authentic advocate of solidarity with the Third World and opposition to imperialism.

The only party to oppose Sino-Pakistan friendship, JI has always nurtured a pro-West stance. Would like to have solidarity with Saudi Arabia.

Special Characteristics

By championing the East Pakistani nationalist sentiment, AL has become the authentic representative of the autonomy movement. This very reason renders it impotent in West Pakistan and deprives it of the opportunity of becoming a national party.

Despite its advocacy of “socialism”, it remains essentially a regionalist alliance.

Sindhi nationalist.

Despite all the propaganda about socialism, PPP could, at best, be considered as a national bourgeois party with a mixture of landlord and radical student influence.

If not exactly a party of the downtrodden masses, NAP is undoubtedly the most radical party in Pakistan.

An advocate of “Islamic” system, JI distinguishes itself as the ultra-right of Pakistan.